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BUREAU OF
INTELLIGENCE
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CURRENT
ANALYSES

(U) CHRONOLOGY OF THE POLISH CRISIS,
SEPTEMBER 1, 1982-AUGUST 31, 1983

(U) The attached chronology of the Polish crisis, covering September 1, 1982, to August 31, 1983, is issued as a research aid. It continues the chronology contained in INR Reports 34-CA of December 5, 1980 (covering July 1-November 30, 1980), 194-CA of August 12, 1981 (December 1, 1980-July 31, 1981), 336-CA of March 3, 1982 (August 1-December 31, 1981), and 475-CA of September 28, 1982 (January 1-August 31, 1982).

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Declassify: OADR (Mautner, M.)

Report 693-CA
October 12, 1983

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(U) Chronology of the Polish Crisis,
September 1, 1982-August 31, 1983

1982
September

Aug. 31-
Sept. 3

(U) Polish disturbances continued. Authorities sealed off Lubin after at least three protesters died in clashes with militia on August 31, the second anniversary of the Gdansk accords between the independent trade union Solidarity and the government. Random demonstrations also occurred in Czestochowa.

- 1 (U) Wladyslaw Gomulka, Polish party chief (1956-70) who fell because of worker unrest, died after a long battle with cancer. He was buried with full honors.
- 2 (U) The Polish Politburo met to discuss the August 31 disturbances. Government officials scored foreign, especially US, involvement; played up youth and nonworker participation; and vowed never to negotiate with the Solidarity leadership.
- 3 (U) Polish dissident Jacek Kuron and other Workers' Defense Committee (KOR/KSS) leaders were formally arrested. Previously interned, they now face charges of treason and inciting armed rebellion. KOR/KSS leader Lipski returned from medical treatment in London on September 15 and was arrested the next day.
- 4 (U) Solidarity's Temporary Coordinating Committee (TKK) met and issued a communique claiming a "moral victory" on August 31 and calling for moments of silence on September 30 in commemoration of those who died. In Poznan on September 9, a Solidarity radio broadcast interrupted local TV for 10 seconds (sound only) to thank Poles for the supportive August 31 demonstrations.
- 6 (U) Polish terrorists seized the Polish Embassy in Berne, Switzerland, threatening to blow up the building unless martial law in Poland was ended, detention centers closed, all political prisoners

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September

freed, and "repression against Poles" halted. On September 9, Swiss forces charged the Embassy, freeing the hostage-diplomats and capturing the terrorists without casualties. Polish authorities linked the terrorists to Solidarity, Western radio stations, and intelligence services.

8-10

(U) After a visit to Czechoslovakia, Libyan chief of state Colonel Qadhafi arrived in Poland on 24 hours' notice. The visit produced an agreement to provide Poland with 1 million tons of Libyan crude oil.

13

(U) NATO members agreed to continue sanctions against Poland because no visible progress had been made in satisfying the three Western conditions for lifting sanctions.

13-14

(U) Polish Foreign Minister Olszowski visited Moscow on a "brief working visit"; the resultant communique stressed Polish-Soviet ties. Pravda urged the Polish party to heed Soviet advice and criticism.

16

(U) A Polish Episcopate communique signed by Archbishop Glemp expressed dissatisfaction with the regime's handling of the August 31 disturbances and accused it of doing nothing to end the current political stalemate.

21-22

(U) Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA) permanent representatives met in Moscow to discuss the current status of cooperation with Poland. According to the Polish News Agency (PAP), CEMA's share of Poland's foreign trade had risen from 54 percent in 1980 to 63-64 percent today.

October

6

(U) Glemp canceled his visits to Rome and the United States in anticipation of new protests by the underground against the pending dissolution of Solidarity.

8

(U) The Polish Sejm (parliament) enacted new trade union legislation which effectively disbanded all trade unions, including Solidarity. Two deputies

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October

spoke against the bill, and the vote included 10 nays and 9 abstentions. At the same time, the regime announced the impending release of 308 internees, but not Lech Walesa or other Solidarity leaders.

9 (U) President Reagan announced his intention to suspend Poland's most-favored-nation (MFN) status; MFN was officially suspended on October 27.

10 (U) The canonization of Polish Nazi victim Maksymilian Kolbe took place in Rome; thousands of Poles attended, but not Glomp. Pope John Paul II used the occasion to decry the banning of Solidarity. Glomp, in a sermon in Poland, appealed for moderation but came out clearly in favor of Solidarity and against the regime's most recent actions.

10 (U) Underground Solidarity leaders issued an appeal for four-hour nationwide strikes on November 10, the second anniversary of Solidarity's legalization.

11-13 (U) Spontaneous demonstrations to protest the abolition of Solidarity broke out in Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot, Szczecin, Nowa Huta, and Wroclaw. Riot police used water cannon and tear gas in running pitched battles to break up the crowds. Telex and telephone lines in some of these areas were cut to isolate the disturbances. Spearheaded by Lenin Shipyards workers in Gdansk, uncoordinated strikes also erupted in a few factories along the Baltic coast. The militarization of the yards by the regime on September 12 effectively curbed the Baltic strike movement before it had a chance to spread.

20 (U) The funeral in Nowa Huta for a young worker killed the previous week by an undercover policeman drew an estimated 20,000 mourners and took on the air of a passive pro-Solidarity demonstration. Riot police virtually occupied the city to forestall trouble.

21-22 (U) Warsaw Pact foreign ministers met in Moscow and reaffirmed previous Pact positions on support for "socialist" Poland. They also dealt with European security issues and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

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1982
October

- 25-31 (U) Glemp traveled to Rome to consult with the Pope on Poland's domestic situation, the deterioration of church-state relations, and prospects for a 1983 papal visit. Subsequently, Glemp accompanied the Pope for part of his 10-day trip to Spain.
- 26 (U) The Sejm adopted a law on "social parasitism" ostensibly designed to combat "work dodgers," alcoholics, and juvenile delinquents. The Episcopate and other regime critics objected that the law could be used against Solidarity activists.
- 27-28 (U) The 10th plenum of the party's Central Committee was devoted primarily to economic problems. A number of hardliners echoed the criticism of Premier Jaruzelski's policies contained in an open letter from Tadeusz Grabski, leader of the party hardline faction.

November

- 2-3 (U) Polish Deputy Premier and Planning Commission Chief Obodowski visited Moscow and discussed bilateral economic matters with Soviet Premier Tikhonov and Planning Chief Baybakov.
- 4 (U) Olszowski visited East Berlin.
- 4 (U) Glemp returned to Poland following his talks with the Pope. While in Taranto, Italy, to receive a peace prize, Glemp spoke out against strikes planned by underground Solidarity leaders for November 10.
- 5 (U) Western banks agreed to reschedule 95 percent of Poland's 1982 principal payments (\$2.4 billion). The banks also agreed to extend new short-term trade credits to Warsaw equal to half of Poland's interest payments (\$1.1 billion) due in 1982.
- 8 (U) Jaruzelski and Glemp met for more than two hours and agreed that the Pope's visit would take place the next June. A government spokesman stated that the discussion was "of a very constructive character."
- 10 (U) Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev died in Moscow. The death, announced a day later, was greeted with

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1982
November

predictable eulogies from the East European states, including Poland.

- 10-11 (U) The call by the underground Solidarity leadership (TKK) for an eight-hour nationwide strike and demonstrations to protest the October 8 outlawing of Solidarity drew only scattered work stoppages and protests. Although clashes between demonstrators and riot police occurred in Wroclaw, Krakow, Warsaw, and Lodz, as well as on several campuses, the regime promptly claimed victory over the underground. The authorities' wide-ranging preventive measures and campaign of intimidation included threats of immediate job dismissals of strike participants and the massive presence of riot police and elite military units in such major enterprises as the Gdansk shipyards.
- 10-13 (U) Olszowski made an official visit to India.
- 11 (U) PAP released the text of a letter that "Corporal Lech Walesa" allegedly wrote to Jaruzelski on November 8, proposing a meeting to discuss "matters of mutual interest." Authorities also announced Walesa's immediate release from internment.
- 13 (U) Poland's Military Council of National Salvation (WRON) requested the Sejm to hold a plenary session on December 13, the one-year anniversary of martial law. For the first time since last May, the 13th passed with no reports of popular disturbances to protest martial law.
- 14 (U) Thousands of euphoric supporters greeted Walesa on his arrival at his Gdansk home after months of internment. On the 15th Walesa met Western correspondents and told them that his release had come as a surprise and that he had not changed or made any deal with the authorities. He vowed to remain faithful to the spirit of the August 1980 Gdansk accords and fight with peaceful means for the release of other internees, but would remain silent for about a month to "confront his ideas with reality."
- 15 (U) Brezhnev was buried in Moscow's Red Square; party and state leaders attended from all the East European countries except Albania.

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November

- 19 (U) Classes resumed at Torun's Copernicus University in north-central Poland following their suspension because of student protests on November 11.
- 19-21 (U) The largely moribund Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP) dissolved itself during its fourth congress and became a new student organization called the Association of Polish Students.
- 20 (U) Walesa, in his first public appearance since his release, traveled to Warsaw for a three-hour discussion with Glempe. This was their first publicly acknowledged meeting since December 5, 1981. No statement was issued but speculation was widespread that the meeting concerned allegations, reported by NBC television on November 16, of sexual and financial improprieties by Walesa. Polish security forces allegedly presented compromising material to the church as part of a campaign to discredit Walesa.
- 21 (U) Walesa disappointed some 10,000 supporters in Gdansk when he attended Mass at a small chapel near his home, rather than at St. Brigida's Church near the Lenin Shipyards.
- 21 (U) An armed member of the Polish security police hijacked a Polish airliner on a Wroclaw-to-Warsaw flight which he was assigned to protect. The plane landed at West Berlin's Tempelhof Airport.
- 23 (U) So-called Military Operational Groups, first deployed prior to martial law, were ordered by the WRON to return to the countryside for a "transitional period."
- 24 (U) Wladyslaw Frasnyniuk, leader of the Solidarity chapter for Lower Silesia and a key member of the underground union leadership, was sentenced to six years in prison with four years' suspension of civil rights.
- 24 (U) The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), a fledgling mass organization set up by the Jaruzelski regime, issued an appeal for the "speediest possible" lifting of martial law, release of internees, amnesty for those convicted

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1982
November

of martial law violation, and lifting of the ban on activities of suspended organizations.

- 24 (U) Underground Solidarity's TKK reportedly disseminated a series of statements that, inter alia, called off protest demonstrations planned for December 13-17 and affirmed the TKK leaders' allegiance to Walesa. They said they would leave the decision to him on what tactics the underground should pursue.
- 26 (U) Solidarity adviser Kuron was furloughed from internment until December 6 to attend his wife's funeral. The funeral occasioned a low-key political demonstration by some 3,000 Solidarity supporters. Last September Kuron was charged, along with four other KOR/KSS dissidents, with trying to overthrow the state by force.
- 29 (U) The Polish Government announced the release of 327 internees in view of "further progress in the process of stabilization and the improvement in the state of security and public order." The release left an estimated 700 persons interned and some 8,000 persons jailed for violations of martial law.

December

- 1 (U) Polish authorities dissolved the pro-Solidarity Actors Union in retaliation for a year-long boycott of state television by most of the country's best known actors.
- 2-3 (U) Speaking at a miners' rally in Jastrzebie, Jaruzelski attacked the US for its "anti-Polish obsession" and condemned Western sanctions against Poland. Moscow replayed the entire speech in the Soviet press.
- 3 (U) The Sejm met to deal with the Polish economy and economic plans for 1983 in the first of four plenary sessions scheduled for December.
- 6-11 (U) Soviet Deputy Premier and planning chief Baybakov and his Polish counterpart Obodowski met in Warsaw and discussed Polish-Soviet economic relations. Baybakov also visited several major

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December

industrial establishments, including such Solidarity strongholds as the Lenin Steel Complex in Nowa Huta near Krakow.

- 9-10 (U) Olszowski made an official visit to Czechoslovakia. Talks were said to have been held in a cordial, friendly atmosphere with a "full identity of views" on all issues.
- 10 (U) President Reagan delivered a major address on human rights in which he offered to improve US-Polish relations provided Warsaw took concrete steps toward restoring civil liberties. Warsaw denounced the speech as another "aggressive and arrogant" interference in Polish affairs.
- 11 (U) Walesa released the text of a second letter to Jaruzelski (dated December 4), in which he reiterated readiness to work with the authorities toward a genuine reconciliation. Walesa called on the government to amnesty all political prisoners, reinstate workers fired for union activity, and return to the principle of union "pluralism."
- 12 (U) Speaking on the eve of the first anniversary of martial law, Jaruzelski promised to "suspend" some of the "rigors" of martial law by the end of the year.
- 14 (U) A Polish Government communique announced the curtailment of scientific and cultural contacts with the US. President Reagan was blamed for deterioration of US-Polish relations.
- 16 (U) Polish security police detained Walesa for nine hours to keep him from speaking at a rally in Gdansk to commemorate workers killed in previous periods of unrest. A massive riot police and military presence in the city aborted the rally.
- 16 (U) The Sejm passed legislation which suspended martial law effective December 31. It also granted the government extraordinary powers to deal with any future unrest and empowered the State Council to reimpose martial law nationwide or in parts of the country if necessary.

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1982
December

- 22 (U) Czechoslovak Party Presidium member and Party Secretary Jakes, who also has responsibility for the economy, met with Polish chief planner Obodowski. Description of the talks as "frank and comradely" indicated disagreements over economic/trade relations.
- 23 (U) The Soviet-Polish trade agreement for 1983 was signed.
- 23 (U) PAP announced that the Ministry of Internal Affairs had ordered the release of all remaining internees, adding that the internment camps were to be "liquidated." At the same time, seven internees, all elected members of Solidarity's national leadership, were formally arrested pending investigation for possible criminal activity.
- 28-29 (U) The Sejm again met to deal with the economy; it passed the 1983 budget and the economic plan through 1985.
- 30 (U) Martial law was suspended, effective midnight, one day earlier than previously announced.

1983
January

- 4 (U) The Polish Government announced that seven Solidarity national leaders, arrested December 23, had been investigated under Article 123 of the penal code for trying to overthrow the government by force. It also said investigation of five dissident KOR/KSS leaders arrested on similar charges in October was near completion.
- 5 (U) The Pope appointed Glemp to the College of Cardinals. Glemp's elevation was received with "satisfaction" in the Polish press, which stressed that the appointment should quell speculation that the Pope disapproved of Glemp's public attitude toward domestic Polish developments.
- 8-10 (U) Polish authorities refused to renew the accreditation of British Broadcasting Corporation correspondent Keven Ruane on the charge that he had distorted reporting on Polish developments, thus forcing him to leave Poland. Authorities also

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January

withdrew permission for some Poles to work for Western journalists, provoking a protest from Warsaw-based media representatives.

- 11 (U) French daily Le Figaro's Warsaw correspondent Margueritte reported that Tadeusz Grabski, party hardline leader and critic of Jaruzelski's policies, had been given a formal "reprimand" by the party with the "warning" that continued "factional activity" would lead to his expulsion from the party.
- 11-13 (C) UPI's Warsaw correspondent Ruth Gruber and her Polish office assistant were held for 23 hours by authorities investigating alleged illegal activities. US consular officials were denied access to Gruber while she was in custody, which brought a protest from the US; Gruber was given 48 hours to leave Poland. On January 18, the US withdrew the accreditation of PAP's Washington correspondent, Stanislaw Glabinski, in retaliation.
- 14 (U) Walesa was turned away from the Gdansk Lenin Shipyards when he attempted to return to his job as an electrician. Polish authorities blamed "administrative obstacles" for the turnaway. Subsequently, Walesa said he would sue the management to gain reinstatement. On January 28, he was put back on the payroll effective January 17. Although Walesa was not told when he could resume work, he termed the decision a moral victory.
- 19 (U) The Trade Union Committee of the Council of Ministers met for the first time in almost a year. Chaired by Deputy Premier Rakowski, the meeting concentrated on efforts to create new trade unions. Success thus far was limited, with authorities resorting to economic coercion to obtain new members.
- 19 (U) Walesa and 13 other Solidarity leaders signed an appeal addressed to the Sejm protesting the imprisonment of seven union colleagues and demanding "a stop to all kinds of repression" by the government. The appeal was the first joint action by Walesa and his top advisers since their release from internment in November and December.

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1983
January

- 20-21 (U) The Communist Party Central Committee and the United Peasant Party (ZSL) Supreme Committee held a joint plenum to discuss agricultural and food problems. Although the leaders of the two parties had met in the past, the joint plenary session of central committees was unprecedented.
- 24 (U) For the first time in three months, Radio Solidarity went on the air for several minutes in Warsaw as its alleged founder, Zbigniew Romaszewski, and nine others appeared before a military court on charges of clandestine broadcasting activities last year. Earlier, police dispersed some 500 Poles as they attempted to march to Warsaw's Victory Square following a Mass commemorating the 1863 Polish uprising against Czarist rule.
- 25 (U) The Polish Government announced that 5,165 Poles had applied to emigrate for political reasons since last March 1, including 1,429 who had been interned during martial law. Of the applicants, 4,510 were "offered" passports, but only 1,070--including 300 former internees--left the country for the West. No top Solidarity leader was among the emigrants.
- 26 (U) Six presidium members of Solidarity's Warsaw chapter protested by letter to the Sejm the government's decision to transfer Solidarity's assets--estimated at 400 million zlotys (about \$45,000)--to the new government-sponsored trade unions. They urged that the assets be turned over to the factory social councils for the benefit of all workers rather than be used to promote the new unions.
- 26-27 (C) Polish police renewed their interference with the normal operation of the US Embassy in Warsaw and the consulate in Krakow by harassing the missions' Polish employees and Polish visitors.
- 28 (U) Underground Solidarity's five-man TKK issued its first action program since the suspension of martial law; it called on workers to continue boycotting regime institutions (e.g., trade unions) and urged them to prepare for a possible general strike.

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1983

January

- 30 (U) A Polish Episcopate pastoral letter, read in churches throughout Poland, urged the regime to amnesty union activists and other political prisoners jailed under martial law, to create favorable conditions for the papal visit which was to begin June 16.
- 30 (U) Walesa told a Swiss weekly that he was determined to carry on work for union pluralism once he was allowed to resume his job at the Lenin Shipyards. He stressed he would use only legal means to accomplish his objective but "seriously" expected to be rearrested.
- 31 (U) The Sejm convened for a two-day session on foreign policy.

February

- 2 (U) Pope John Paul II formally bestowed cardinals' hats on Glemp, Archbishop Kuharic of Croatia, and Bishop Meissner of East Berlin.
- 3 (U) The Polish Government closed down the UPI bureau in Warsaw by "suspending" the accreditation of UPI local correspondent Bogdan Turek, a Polish citizen. Warsaw said the move was in retaliation for the January "closure" of PAP's Washington bureau.
- 3 (U) The Polish Government announced that, effective March 1, workers' sick leave benefits would be reduced by 50 percent for the first three days. The measure had been passed by the Sejm on February 1 as part of the government's ongoing campaign to combat absenteeism.
- 3 (C) At least two of several Polish clandestine internment centers disguised as military training camps were disbanded. The centers had been set up during late October-early November 1982, ostensibly for training reservists but in fact for the incarceration of pro-Solidarity activists and workers prior to the unsuccessful nationwide strike called by the underground.
- 3 (U) Hungarian trade union leader and Politburo member Gaspar ended a four-day visit to Poland.

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February

- 4 (U) The Polish weekly Polityka reported what it called the first case of bankruptcy in communist Poland.
- 5 (U) Jaruzelski, in a wide-ranging interview published in the Hungarian party daily Nepszabadsag, assailed the US for turning US-Polish relations into a "cold war" and vowed not to give in to pressure.
- 12 (U) A Warsaw military prosecutor ended three days' questioning of Walesa in connection with a case against five prominent KOR/KSS members associated with Solidarity. While in Warsaw, Walesa was said to have held secret talks with Cardinal Glemp and, according to unconfirmed reports, declined an invitation from Solidarity activists to participate in demonstrations that would take place the next day.
- 16-20 (U) Deputy Premier Rakowski and Trade Union Affairs Minister Ciosek visited Hungary and held wide-ranging talks with Hungarian counterparts. Rakowski was received by party chief Kadar and Politburo member Aczel.
- 17 (U) The trial of nine Solidarity activists charged with organizing clandestine Radio Solidarity broadcasts ended with sentences ranging from a 7-month suspended jail term to 4 1/2 years' imprisonment. Subsequently, the prosecution appealed for harsher sentences.
- 17 (U) Some 600 students staged a demonstration in Krakow to commemorate the second anniversary of the registration of the now-banned Independent Student Union.
- 23 (U) Polish veteran free-union organizer Switon was detained briefly in Katowice while attending a Mass he had helped organize in memory of those killed or imprisoned under martial law. More than 3,000 persons who attended the Mass dispersed without intervention by the uniformed and plainclothes police present. Walesa the day before canceled plans to attend the Mass.
- 23-24 (U) A communique issued after a plenary session of the Polish Episcopate reiterated the bishops'

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February

earlier appeal for amnesty for all political prisoners in advance of the Pope's visit. It also criticized articles in "foreign newspapers" attacking the Pope and the Holy See, referring to newspapers published in Eastern Europe, especially in Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

- 25 (U) The 2,500-member Writers Union was warned by the communist party that it would have to purge its leadership of "subversive elements" and openly pledge loyalty to the party before it would be allowed to resume activities.

March

- 1 (U) Poland's delegate to the Geneva-based UN Human Rights Commission attacked the Commission's report on the Polish situation as "illegal, invalid, politically harmful and morally double-faced."
- 2-4 (U) Olszowski visited Moscow.
- 8 (U) Students in Warsaw and Wroclaw took part in street demonstrations to mark the 15th anniversary of the 1968 student riots.
- 10 (U) Walesa, attending the trial of veteran free trade union activist Anna Walentynowicz in Grudziadz, called for "protests, hunger strikes" against judicial proceedings against former Solidarity activists. Meanwhile, Gdansk shipyard workers called for restoration of Solidarity in an open letter to the Sejm.
- 11 (U) Glemp met in Rome with the Pope, presumably to discuss the June papal visit. (Prior to departing for Rome, Glemp met with Jaruzelski on March 9.)
- 13-14 (U) More than 2,000 persons took to the streets of Gdansk to mark the 15-month anniversary of martial law and to demand the release of those still held for martial law violations. Smaller protests occurred in four other Polish cities. The next day, crowds again gathered in Gdansk and were dispersed by police. Hundreds of protesters were detained.

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March

- 15 (U) Warsaw raised prices for gas, oil products, cigarettes, and coffee, effective March 21; simultaneously, rationing of cigarettes and coffee was lifted. Other rationing regulations were amended to facilitate shopping for Easter holidays.
- 21-22 (U) Polish officials met in Warsaw with representatives of Western commercial banks to discuss rescheduling the 1983 debt.
- 22 (U) In a speech to the Sejm, Interior Minister Kiszczak acknowledged that dissidents continued to oppose the new labor unions and plan demonstrations for May. He blamed Western intelligence services for encouraging them.
- 22-23 (U) The Sejm met to discuss the economy; approved personnel changes affecting the cabinet and the Council of State.
- 23 (U) A statement by the five-member underground TKK said that the TKK would not support demonstrations during the June papal visit. But it called on Poles to "demonstrate their solidarity with the struggle of the Polish workers on May 1," as they had last year.
- 27 (U) Some 500 former internees met in the Jasna Gora Monastery in Czestochowa and issued a seven-point appeal addressed to Jaruzelski. The appeal demanded, inter alia, lifting of martial law and an amnesty for all political prisoners prior to the papal visit. The gathering decided against demonstrations before and during the visit.
- 27 (U) The British Broadcasting Corporation announced that Poland had agreed to readmit one of the BBC correspondents expelled last January. On April 1-2 the Warsaw office of UPI and the Washington bureau of PAP reopened.
- 28 (U) Walesa told some 600 people who attended a Mass at St. Brigida's Church near the Lenin Shipyards that the "time will come when we will be victorious."

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1983
March

- 30 (U) Anna Walentynowicz was sentenced to a year and three months in jail and fined 16,000 zlotys (about \$185) for continuing Solidarity activities banned under martial law. The sentence was suspended for three years, with her detention since August 30, 1982, counting toward the imprisonment.
- 31 (U) Radio Solidarity broadcast in Warsaw for the first time since January. The program remained audible in parts of the city for several minutes despite heavy jamming.
- 31 (U) Court officials prevented Walesa from attending a trial of five former internees in the port city of Elblag near Gdansk.

April

- 7 (U) Harvard alumni invited Walesa to be the commencement speaker in June, but he declined, stating he could not be sure he would be allowed to return to Poland.
- 8-13 (U) Olszowski visited Nigeria, Benin, and Angola.
- 9-11 (U) Walesa conferred with key underground Solidarity leaders for the first time since his release from internment. In a widely publicized announcement, Walesa said that they had discussed "the country's present situation and coordinated their stands."
- 9-22 (U) Some 1,200 Jewish delegates from East and West, including Israel, attended official ceremonies in Warsaw and other Polish cities in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. The heads of delegation were received by Jaruzelski and other senior government officials. Polish security forces on April 17 broke up an unofficial commemorative demonstration. The crowd was allowed to lay wreaths and sing, but police prevented a march to the ghetto monument.
- 11 (U) A senior Polish official told a Wall Street Journal correspondent that Poland was holding up agreement on US Ambassador-designate Scanlan until

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the US made some sort of "positive gesture" to indicate willingness to normalize relations.

- 13 (U) Walesa was detained by police for several hours the day after he announced that he had met with members of the TKK. During the following five days he and his wife and driver were each detained for questioning; on April 18, he and Father Jankowski, Walesa's confessor, were prevented from traveling to Warsaw to attend an unofficial commemoration of the Warsaw ghetto uprising.
- 13-14 (U) Warsaw Pact Commander in Chief Kulikov conferred with Jaruzelski in Warsaw on military cooperation with the USSR and other Pact states.
- 14 (U) The TKK issued a communique calling for nationwide counterdemonstrations on May 1.
- 16 (U) Polish authorities announced the arrest of several Solidarity activists.
- 17 (U) Glemp met with Walesa in Gdansk prior to the consecration of an auxiliary bishop. During his sermon, Glemp called on the authorities for concrete actions, not words, to achieve genuine reconciliation.
- 19 (U) Polish authorities arrested former Solidarity spokesman Janusz Onysiewicz on charges of participating in the underground and preparing for the May demonstrations.
- 20 (U) Walesa, at a news conference held in his Gdansk home, appealed for talks with the government.
- 20-27 (U) The Polish Government redeployed the army's Special Operations Groups both in the cities and in rural areas, ostensibly to inspect local administrations, but presumably in preparation for May Day counterdemonstrations called by the underground.
- 21 (U) The Polish Government suspended the Polish Artists Union for two months, one day before the union was to hold its scheduled congress. The union had refused government demands to rescind resolutions critical of the government.

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1983
April

- 24 (U) Polish authorities arrested Jozef Pinior, a member of the five-man TKK and key organizer for the militant Wroclaw underground.
- 27 (U) The Sejm's Constitutional Accountability Commission after a long delay decided to press charges against former Premier Jaroszewicz and his deputies Pyka, Szydlak, and Wrasacayk. The accused lost their positions during 1980.
- 27 (U) Walesa was allowed to resume work as an electrician at the Lenin Shipyards in what appeared to be an attempt by the authorities to keep him under close watch and preoccupied. Meanwhile, Deputy Premier Rakowski implicitly rejected Walesa's earlier appeal for talks with the government.
- 28 (C) Poland formally protested what it called slanderous broadcasts by the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe aimed at the destabilization of the country. It also demanded that the US Embassy in Warsaw curtail its cultural activities. On May 2, the police prevented prospective attendees of a US film showing from entering the Embassy.
- 29 (U) A senior Polish church official disclosed that the Pope had written to Jaruzelski, asking him to declare an amnesty for all political prisoners prior to the June 16-23 papal visit. The letter, which was confirmed by a Vatican spokesman, reportedly warned that the Pope would speak out strongly during his visit if there were no amnesty.
- 29 (U) The Polish Episcopate rejected a government request to postpone May 1 Sunday morning Masses until afternoon. The regime evidently had hoped thereby to limit participation in the planned popular demonstrations. The regime also imposed an April 30-May 3 ban on the sale of alcohol. Police searched the homes of numerous shipyard workers in Gdansk, detained several workers, and repeatedly questioned several of Walesa's aides.
- 29 (U) A broadcast purporting to come from clandestine Radio Solidarity in Warsaw called off the underground-sponsored rallies; the broadcast appeared to be a ploy of the security police to sow confusion.

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1983

May

- 1 (U) Thousands of Solidarity supporters staged May Day rallies across Poland in what was the strongest show of opposition to the Jaruzelski regime since August 31, 1982.
- 3 (U) More than 10,000 demonstrators went to the streets in Warsaw and Gdansk on the occasion of Poland's prewar national day. They were dispersed by police using truncheons and water cannon.
- 3 (U) The Polish Government rejected an appeal from the Pope to free political prisoners prior to his visit and rebuffed Walesa's call for talks.
- 3 (U) The Warsaw convent housing Glemp's committee aiding victims of repression was vandalized by a gang of "hooligans" who, according to Western reports, roughed up members of the staff and damaged furniture.
- 4 (U) The Polish Episcopate issued a communique on the coming papal visit which set out its desires, including unimpeded access for all to the ceremonies, a return to normalcy, and further legitimization of the church's role in Polish society. The following day, after a meeting in Czestochowa, the Episcopate issued its strongest call yet for an amnesty for political prisoners.
- 5 (U) The Soviet weekly New Times criticized the lack of discipline and socialist standards among elements of Polish society, especially in intellectual and party circles connected with the Warsaw journal Polityka. Former editor of the journal and now Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski was the butt of the attack. The Polish Government reacted by seizing all copies of the New Times. Polityka's response in its May 12 edition was measured.
- 7-9 (U) The first congress of the new people's front organization PRON met in Warsaw and was addressed by leading officials, including Jaruzelski.
- 8 (U) Walesa threatened to go underground to work with the TKK if the Polish authorities did not stop their harassment of him, his family, and his entourage.

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May

- 10 (U) Walesa joined with leaders of now-banned labor unions to criticize the new unions formed under martial law. They noted the inability of the regime to drum up support among workers for the new unions.
- 14 (U) The Soviet press played up the 28th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact; most East European commemorative press articles were low key.
- 14 (U) A young Polish man, whose mother had assisted jailed Solidarity members, died after being questioned by security officials for alleged drunkenness and disorderly conduct.
- 16 (U) The Soviet journal Kommunist attacked Poland for the second time in two weeks, criticizing Poles for lack of discipline, not reviving the party, and not listening to the USSR.
- 16 (U) Glomp left for Rome for further discussion with the Pope of the latter's coming visit to Poland.
- 16-20 (U) A delegation of parliamentarians, led by Stanislaw Gucwa, marshal of the Sejm, visited Sofia for talks with counterparts regarding economic and cultural affairs.
- 18-21 (U) The chairman of the Soviet All-Union Council of Trade Unions traveled to Poland for meetings with government and party leaders and factory workers. Among announced topics of discussion were "the role of party members in trade unions" and the need to expand cooperation between Polish and Soviet trade unions.
- 20 (U) A Warsaw military court sentenced nine Solidarity activists for martial law violations. Some sentences were suspended; the longest was 3 1/2 years.
- 31 (U) The long-delayed 12th party plenum met but failed to come up with solutions to pressing political and economic problems.

June

- 2 (U) Glomp in his Corpus Christi sermon criticized the Polish military regime for "beating of young

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June

people." He took the authorities to task for "infringing human and civil rights and man's dignity."

- 2 (U) Religious affairs minister Lopatka admitted in the Warsaw weekly Polityka that the regime hoped to use the papal visit to pressure Western governments to end economic sanctions.
- 6 (U) Glemp and Jaruzelski met to discuss church-state relations.
- 11 (C) Polish security officers raided a Krakow clandestine radio station and arrested its operator. Similar sweeps resulted in the closure of three clandestine printing plants, reportedly operating with material surreptitiously supplied by the West.
- 13 (U) Deputy Premier Obodowski proposed that Poland make no further payments on its 1983 foreign debt to Western banks until 1991 and then stretch out repayment over 14 years.
- 16-23 (U) Pope John Paul II made a triumphant second visit to his homeland. An estimated 12 million Poles turned out during his eight-stop itinerary, which was frequently marked with pro-Solidarity manifestations. He met twice with Jaruzelski and once with Walesa (following the conclusion of the "official" portion of the visit). Both church and regime declared the visit a success.
- 19 (U) Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban warned that continued attempts "to inject political acts" into events during the ongoing visit of Pope John Paul II would harm church-state relations and hinder the complete lifting of martial law.
- 22 (U) A new fortnightly Catholic publication, Nowe Zycie (New Life), appeared on Polish newsstands. The Wroclaw-based periodical was one of two new religious publications authorized by the Polish Government as a concession to the church.
- 24 (U) The Sejm convened to hear a report on the just-concluded papal visit and to deal with economic issues.

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June

- 24 (U) Poland "suspended cooperation" with the International Labor Organization (ILO) because of the "groundless setting up" by the ILO of a commission to study Polish labor practices.
- 24 (U) The semi-official Vatican daily L'Osservatore Romano carried an article by its deputy editor, Vergilio Levi, suggesting that Walesa had been sacrificed for the greater good of Poland as part of a deal the Pope struck with Jaruzelski. Levi resigned the next day amid speculation of papal displeasure.
- 25 (U) Warsaw authorities protested the contents of President Reagan's June 23 speech in Chicago. The speech was characterized as "unworthy of a leader of the country which maintains diplomatic relations with Poland" and as an "interference into the internal affairs of [the] country."
- 28 (U) Hundreds of Poles honored workers killed during the 1956 "bread and butter" riots in Poznan. The police reportedly dispersed the demonstrators without using force.
- 30 (U) A delegation of high-level Polish bishops headed by Glemp arrived in Rome, reportedly to assess the papal visit and coordinate efforts to create a church-sponsored fund to channel Western aid to Poland's private farmers.
- 30 (U) Olszowski visited Bulgaria at the invitation of his Bulgarian counterpart, Petur Mladenov.

July

- 1 (U) Polish authorities extended by two months the suspension of the pro-Solidarity Writers Union rather than dissolve it completely or allow it to resume its work. The union's leadership was cited as the main obstacle to lifting the suspension. The decision came after some eight hours of intense but unsuccessful government pressure to force the union to purge its pro-Solidarity elements.
- 2-3 (U) Jaruzelski and other senior party and state officials addressed a party youth conference in

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Gdansk in a surprise rebuttal to the Pope's claim that Polish youth were becoming disillusioned and had little to look forward to.

- 4 (U) Walesa went on unauthorized leave from his recently reacquired job at the Lenin Shipyards. Polish authorities wanted him to take leave during the August anniversary of the 1980 shipyards strike and the signing of the Gdansk accords which gave birth to Solidarity.
- 5 (U) Jaruzelski received the Order of Lenin from the Soviet Union on his 60th birthday, an indication that Moscow was generally satisfied with his performance. The East European countries followed suit in awarding him major decorations.
- 9 (U) PRON issued an appeal for the lifting of martial law on July 22, Poland's national day. (A similar appeal was issued prior to the suspension of martial law.) Press reports subsequently indicated that the decision to lift martial law was made at a Politburo meeting on July 5.
- 10 (U) Glemp, in Rome to discuss the June 1983 papal visit to Poland, used his Sunday sermon at a local Polish church to criticize international media coverage of the Pope's trip. He described it as overly political and ignoring the pastoral nature of the pilgrimage.
- 12 (U) Government spokesman Urban warned during his regular press conference that Poland would seek compensation from the US for losses suffered because of "unilateral severance" of an economic cooperation agreement. The Poles said the agreement contained a clause disassociating economic from political conditions.
- 12 (U) The Sejm found no grounds to initiate misconduct proceedings against disgraced former leaders Gierek and Babiuch, but accompanying commentary reflected official scorn for them.
- 13 (U) The Clemency Commission announced that only 122 out of 809 clemency requests had been denied--and only to those who had "leading and organizing

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- roles" in public disturbances or used "terror and intimidation." Some of those denied were said to have criminal records.
- 14 (U) The Sejm paved the way for the technical lifting of martial law by enacting omnibus legislation providing for martial law-style constraints until December 1985.
- 17 (U) According to Polish figures, communist party (PUWP) membership had reached 2.327 million, or 9 percent of the adult population. In July 1980, the membership was more than 3.149 million.
- 21 (U) Jaruzelski granted an interview to ABC TV's Barbara Walters which the Polish media hailed as an opportunity for a "broad and objective presentation of Poland's present problems."
- 21 (C) Olszowski received Franz Joseph Strauss, leader of the FRG's Christian Social Union and premier of Bavaria, in Poland on a private visit. Their discussions reportedly focused on bilateral relations and the current international situation.
- 21 (U) The Sejm approved an amnesty for some political prisoners, excluding leading Solidarity figures and advisers. It also passed "special regulations" extending for 2 1/2 years several martial law restrictions.
- 22 (U) Poland's official national day, the first day without martial law since December 13, 1981, passed in a subdued atmosphere.
- 22 (U) The new Soviet Ambassador to Poland, Aleksandr Akseyonov, presented his credentials to Polish head of state Jablonski.
- 28 (LOU) The Sejm gave the government expanded powers to jail opposition activists and censor materials on a permanent basis, despite strong opposition from the Catholic Church.
- 29 (U) Poland's Western creditors, including the US, agreed in principle to open rescheduling talks on the country's debts. Poland was not invited to the

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Paris Club meeting, which was to take place in September. Rescheduling talks with Western governments were broken off in January 1982 in retaliation for the imposition of martial law.

August

- 1-6 (U) Leonid Zamyatin, chief of the Soviet party's International Relations Department, visited Poland. After his return to Moscow, he used an August 20 appearance on Soviet television to claim that the Polish Catholic Church was "to a certain extent on the side of the counterrevolution during the events of August 1980" and that the Pope's pilgrimage in June 1983 had strengthened resistance to communism and encouraged some clergymen to cooperate with opposition forces.
- 2 (U) Solidarity underground leaders called on Poles to mark the third anniversary of the Gdansk accords on August 31 by, inter alia, boycotting public transportation and press and holding commemorative gatherings.
- 6 (U) Moscow's Pravda carried a major commentary on Polish-Soviet ties by Polish Politburo member and party secretary Czyrek who hailed them as Poland's hope for the future. It also emphasized the regime's ability to cope with its internal adversaries.
- 8-10 (U) US Senator Dodd visited Poland and talked with government and church representatives; he also met with Walesa in Gdansk. Subsequently, Dodd called any lifting of US sanctions "premature."
- 10 (U) Glemp underwent gall bladder surgery. According to press reports, the operation was successful and Glemp was recovering.
- 14 (U) Some 2,000 persons gathered at the Solidarity monument in Gdansk to commemorate the 1980 shipyard strike. Police dispersed the demonstration without using force, although some participants were briefly detained, including the NBC TV crew.
- 15 (U) Walesa led a 500-member group to the three-cross Solidarity monument in Gdansk to commemorate

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- the beginning of the 1980 strikes that spawned Solidarity. It was the first gathering Walesa had participated in since his release from internment; the crowd dispersed at Walesa's request.
- 16-18 (U) East German leader Honecker visited Poland-- the first visit by an East European chief since the emergence of Solidarity in 1980.
- 17 (U) The TKK issued a statement urging workers to participate in an eight-day slowdown, beginning August 23, if the government failed to start talks with Walesa about the August 1980 Gdansk accords.
- 17 (U) A visiting seven-member US congressional delegation led by Rep. Clarence Long was received by Jaruzelski for a lengthy exchange of views, the first contact between Jaruzelski and US officials since the imposition of martial law. Jaruzelski pressed for the lifting of US sanctions. The delegation's request for a meeting with Walesa was turned down.
- 17-18 (U) Polish party official Stanislaw Szczerba attacked the Polish church for "Catholic intolerance" and called for a purge of believers from the party's ranks in an article in the biweekly party journal Zycie Partii (Party Life).
- 19 (U) The Polish party daily Trybuna Ludu attacked Walesa as the "Yankee of Gdansk" because of his alleged opposition to the lifting of Western sanctions against Poland.
- 20 (U) The Warsaw government dissolved the Polish Writers Union, the last of the major Solidarity strongholds, for its alleged failure to halt activities "against the interest of the Polish state and culture."
- 22 (U) Several hundred shipyard workers gathered at the Gdansk Solidarity monument to protest continuing government refusal to talk to Walesa and his advisers. Walesa did not appear as promised, saying that if he was arrested he could not commemorate the third anniversary of the signing of the Gdansk accords. Police were deployed in force but did not intervene.

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- 24 (U) Wladislaw Hardek, one of the five TKK leaders, appeared on Polish television to urge members of the underground to "reconsider their activities." He said he had turned himself in to take advantage of the government's amnesty program. Neither Western correspondents nor his family were able to contact him after he was supposed to have been freed.
- 25 (U) The Polish Episcopate met in plenary conference and in a communique issued the following day called for a renewed dialogue with labor representatives to implement the August 1980 Gdansk accords, criticized post-martial law legislation as repressive, and lamented that the "rising unrest" was the result of the authorities' failure to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the Pope's visit.
- 25 (U) Angry shipyard workers in Gdansk repeatedly jeered Rakowski, who appeared in the hall where the accords had been signed to defend the government's policies and denounce Solidarity underground plans to celebrate the anniversary of the accords. Urged by his supporters to respond, Walesa took a conciliatory line and called on Rakowski to sit down and talk rather than make accusations. Two days later, the official Polish media carried almost the entire text of Walesa's reply but made clear that the government's position in not talking with Walesa remained unchanged.
- 26 (U) Jaruzelski spoke in Katowice to representatives of the new government trade unions and visited factories in the region as part of an effort to counter Solidarity's call for a new dialogue to implement the 1980 accords. Polish press termed the meeting a "turning point" in the history of the country's trade union movement.
- 28 (U) An estimated 7,000 Solidarity supporters attended a "Mass for the homeland" in Warsaw's St. Stanislaw Kostka Church, where Father Popieluszko indirectly urged listeners to join the rush-hour boycott of public transportation called by the underground.
- 30 (U) Gdansk authorities turned down Walesa's request for a wreath-laying ceremony, at the Solidarity monument during the early-afternoon shift

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changes, to mark the third anniversary of the Gdansk accords. Walesa decried the decision but said he would delay his visit to the monument until the one-half hour period allotted by the authorities for private individuals. He laid his flowers then, without obstruction. (The rest of the day was reserved for government-sponsored groups--such as the shipyard management, the new trade unions, and other regime front organizations--to visit the monument).

- 30 (U) The Polish Government disseminated a pamphlet on the eve of the Gdansk accords' third anniversary, countering charges by the church and Solidarity about the implementation of the accords. The pamphlet alleged that socioeconomic agreements "have been implemented within the limits determined by the potential of the economy and the state."
- 31 (U) Pro-Solidarity demonstrations erupted in some dozen Polish cities on the third anniversary of the Gdansk accords. Thousands of workers heeded the call for a public transport boycott; street battles in at least seven cities developed with riot police using tear gas, water cannon, and nightsticks. Many were injured and hundreds detained. The official Polish press termed the action of a "declining hooligan fringe" a "total fiasco." Walesa called the demonstrations "a success for Solidarity."

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